with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very 243
regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin 221
to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise 243
time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a 243
disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. [412]
This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. [177]
These two were *teyá·ljīpa"*, with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n$_y$maarīghuwála*), white and blue (*n$_y$msá'vīgvasú*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n$_y$ádá*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea amylacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two [439]
months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. [177]
The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

---

[1] Mr. Gensler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

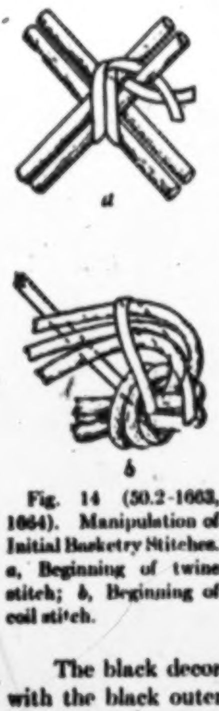


Fig. 14 (50.2-1663, 1664). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. a, Beginning of twine stitch; b, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made
285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's
531 claw (*hală'kᵃ*). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long,
● [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her elder sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

---

[114] [1] Mason misinterprets his *Plate* 206, (h), also 487: the unfinished *face* is not the interior.

285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

POTTERY

323 415 [177] [170] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamái*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

---

[1] See O. T. Mason's diagrams, (b), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

though the string is loosened somewhat when not in use. New bowstrings are a necessity, because a worn string might snap and the tension of the sinew backing is such as to reverse the arc, break the wood, and "perhaps drive a broken end into a man's side, killing him." The bow is kept in a buckskin case; a tube with a single seam. Specimens of such 411 237

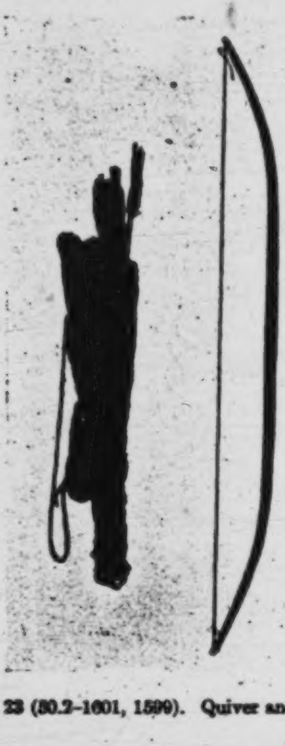


Fig. 23 (50.2-1601, 1599). Quiver and Self-Bow.

bows are not extant. No trussed or compound bow of any other description was used, but the trussed bow is credited to the Navaho. [177]

The bowstring (*ĭmĕcma hápudjĭnágid*) is always sinew (*ĭmĕcmaᵐ*); leather and yucca fibers are never used. The best sinew is that from the hind leg of a deer or mountain sheep. (Tendons are pulled from the hind legs from knee to hock. Others are stripped from both sides of the deer's backbone beginning at the withers, leaving them attached to each

HOUSES

Most Havasupai families have two residences (*hdwa"a*); the group of structures in the canyon occupied during the summer, and a house on the plateau for winter living. The winter house is located in a clearing, just big enough for the house alone, in the midst of a dense cedar or piñon thicket, because these are warmest. The site should be a sandy, gently sloping hillside with a southern exposure. The typical year-round house is a dome-shaped affair, thatched and, depending on the season, dirt-covered. This serves against the rain during the summer. The second type in the summer camp is rectangular, with dirt-covered roof and thatched sides. Besides these the summer camp contains shade structures in a great variety of forms. Two other types are used, both in the canyon and on the plateau, which are considered of foreign origin: a gable roof structure and a polygonal log house built in imitation of the Navaho. 342 [351] [177]

The dome-shaped house may be circular or somewhat elliptical in plan. (Fig. 31 ab.) It is quite conical, for, though the main posts are somewhat crooked, they are not sufficiently so to produce a hemispherical structure like that of the White Mountain Apache. The house is built on a four post foundation: two heavy posts (about 25 cm. in diameter) are set into the ground on opposite sides with their forks interlocking: two lighter posts are set four-square with these with their forks locking into those of the first pair. The space between these primary posts is filled in with an indefinite number of poles, leaving a gap for the entrance. These secondary poles are set in the ground separately,[1] with their upper extremities locked into the forks. Those which do not stand solid are tied at the apex. Flexible poles are tied horizontally around the framework with soapweed leaves, spaced 15 to 30 cm. apart near the bottom and somewhat closer at the top. These ribs do not cross the entrance, which is left free to about the height of a man. In the tightest winter houses, additional short poles are set upright close together all around the circumference, being tied to the horizontal ribs. The frame is now ready for the thatch, which is about 10 cm. thick. Brush of any kind may be used, but in the canyon "white" willow (*amatama'*) is the best, and next in preference a long-leaved weed growing by the creek (*hamasi'iva*). The first tier of thatch is tied on with the butts of the bundles resting on the ground; subsequent overlapping tiers are placed butt end up. The space above the entrance is often left open for a smoke-vent, but it

---

[1] The White Mountain Apache dig a trench in which to stand them and to receive the first row of thatch.

[Text continues on p. 176]

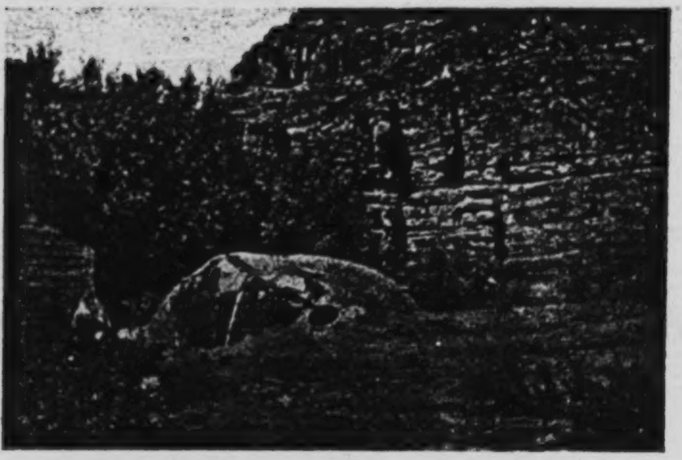


Fig. 32. A Gable-Roofed House of the Mohave Type.

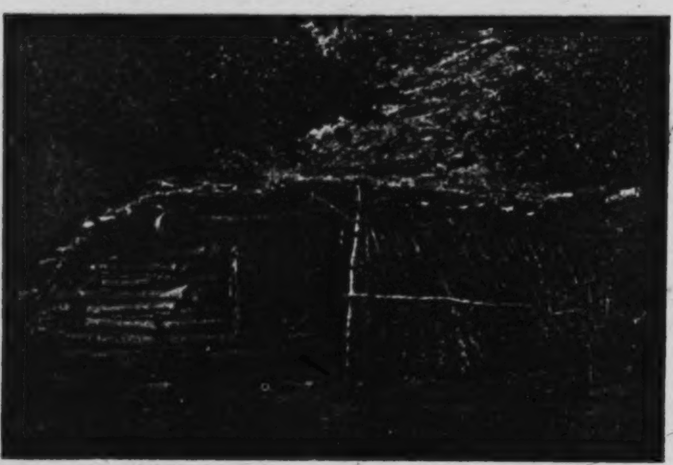


Fig. 33. A Log House of the Navaho Type with a Shade constructed in Front.

342 is sometimes thatched as well and no orifice is left. (Most cooking is done out-of-doors, however.) Flexible poles are tied over the thatch to hold it in place. Dirt is heaped up around the circumference to a height of about 60 cm. Some houses have an entrance-way added. Two stout posts, about two meters tall, are set up at the toe of the two slanting poles which form the entrance. A lintel is set across the posts, and corresponding beams tied to the slanting poles at the same height. Sticks are laid longitudinally between these, and covered with brush and dirt. Sticks are also tied horizontally between the upright posts and the slanting poles so as to form the sides of the entry: long brush is stood against these, and dirt heaped against the base. The door in all types of house is a blanket (never a buckskin) hanging loose from the top of the opening but devoid of a stiffening stick in the bottom. The house is usually heaped over with dirt, especially that for winter living, but the summer rains wash this cover from the steep pitched roof so easily that frequent renewal is necessary. Usually the apex was so poorly protected that smoke had no difficulty in finding its way out. Neither the groundplan nor height of these structures are laid out by measurement (one typical fair sized house measures 4.6 m. by 4 m. in plan and 3 m. to the apex). The summer house is placed with its entrance facing in any convenient direction: the winter house faces somewhat south of east, i.e., where the sun rises.

The ridged house resembles a gable set on the ground. This is [177] thought of as a foreign type. It is nearly square in groundplan, with the corners somewhat rounded (Fig. 32). Two heavy posts are set upright (in one house 3.75 m. apart), supporting a heavy ridge pole in their forks at a man's height from the ground. Poles are laid slanting against the ridge from both sides, leaving a space for the entrance, if that is to be on the side. Others are similarly laid slanting at each end, with the line of their bases 50 cm. from the base of the main post and their upper ends resting in its fork. Slanting poles also fill in the corners, the lower ends arranged around a quarter circle. Slender poles are tied horizontally around the structure about 30 cm. apart. The frame is thatched and covered with dirt in the same manner as the dome-shaped house. A stick is fastened part way up the slanting entrance poles to which a blanket is hung for a door. The space above the door is open for a smoke hole. Some of these houses have the entrance in the gable end, and the summer house even stands with one of both ends open as Shufeldt's and James's photographs show. The whole structure has usually such a low pitch and is so sand-drifted and brush-covered as to be amorphous. A typical house measures 4.5 m. square and 2 m. to the ridge pole.

[Text continues on p. 178]

The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal struc- 342 ture of horizontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams [177] which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the mid-points of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horizontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. [462] At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most 354 in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otúwa*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel. 352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedarbark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed. 513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives. 291

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the hands of the men. 294 281 462

The man's shirt (*nĭgwaid*) seems to have been based on the poncho type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was 291 294 [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[Text continues on p. 185]

---

[1] Coues, 435.
[2] Compare the Western Apache [Bourke, (d), 132].
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

291
177

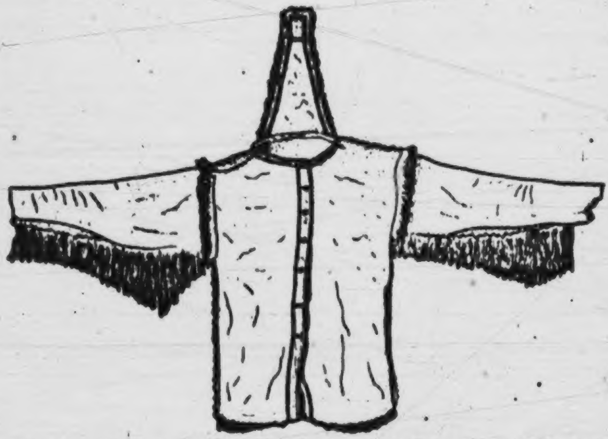


Fig. 37 (50.2-1267). A European Variation of the Plains Type of Man's Shirt. (The neck flap is lifted to show its decoration).

294

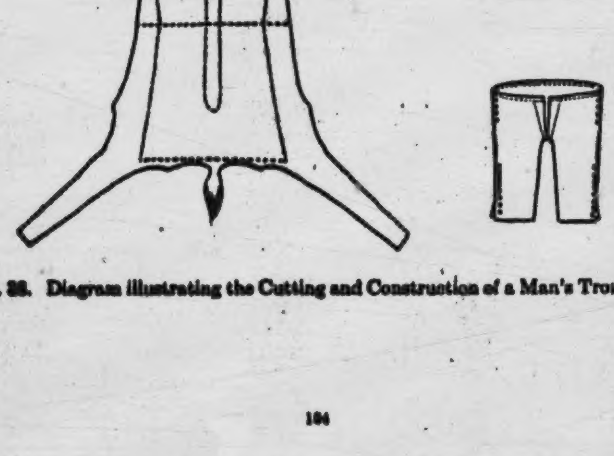


Fig. 38. Diagram illustrating the Cutting and Construction of a Man's Trousers.

is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All 291
seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent 294
parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*makïläpéva*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no [531]
significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the [439]
belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*ágál mIkiál*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the [177] ●
knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with 177
woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded 291
wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and 301
Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons: that in front reaching 291
from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are 294
belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's [439]
apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[286]

---

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven.
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 187]

white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in 386
ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtáθlivá*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The 302
stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dĕnyúdĭgá*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small 304
decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

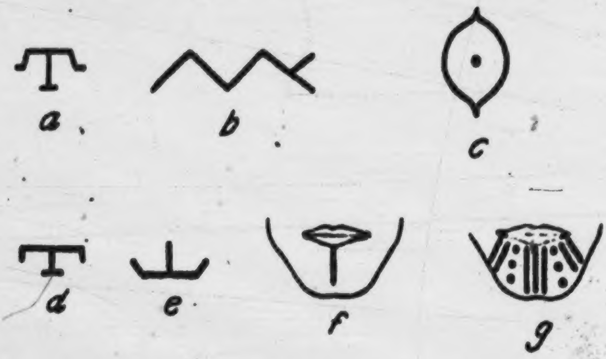


Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-c*, Center of man's forehead; *f, g*, Woman's chin.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the 177
original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial 291
Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

---

[1] Also signifying writing: *padĕnyúdá* means both photograph and camera (*apá*, man).

177 by the Pueblo and Navaho, suggest a fascinating problem which ought
291 to be open to analysis, but will not be attempted here.

We are dealing here with an area in which two styles of clothing
171 prevail. For men, these are either sandals, kilt or apron, and cloth
poncho, or else moccasins, leggings, breechclout, and the Plains shirt,
291 which is essentially a skin poncho. For women, the types that correspond are sandals with either aprons or the dress of the Pueblo women, an uncut square of cloth, or again moccasins and the Plains woman's dress.

The characteristic Californian man's garment is the apron of fiber or skin. For example, on the borders of our area the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño men wear a single apron in front and never affect the breechcloth. The Mohave use either breechclout or apron. The apron is presumably related to the traditional garment of the Pueblo, a woven kilt, persisting today only in ceremonial dress. The Navaho make use of a broad fringed belt which to the Franciscan Fathers suggests a kilt.[1]

All the other Southwestern tribes and their neighbors wear breechclouts. This is recorded for the Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Pima, Navaho, and the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. It is implied in the Plains dress of the Northern Shoshoni and Jicarilla, and undoubtedly was used by Mescalero and Western Apache and by the Paiute.[2] Even
[177] where trousers of Spanish or later patterns have displaced the Pueblo
kilt, the breechclout is worn, as at Zuñi, beneath the trousers.

The breechclout is then characteristic of the whole area westward to the Californian border, excepting only the Pueblo of the prehistoric period. There is some variation even in this simple garment. The typical Plains form having long flaps pendent front and back is that of the northern Pueblos, Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. Other Pueblos and the Havasupai, Maricopa, and Cocopa wear it with short flaps. On the other hand that of the Mohave is long again, while that of the adjacent Yavapai has a long flap in the rear.

The Pueblo trousers are ultimately derived from Spanish sources;
171 short-waisted, knee length, and open at the knee. The Havasupai form
177 with the outer seams open at intervals is identical with the Navaho,
291 from which it is probably derived. Kaibab Paiute are also shown in one

---

[1] Dixon, (c), 209-210; Spier, (e), 340; Whipple, 114; Franciscan Fathers, 459.

[2] Lowie, (i), 216f; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Corbusier, 281-282; Smart, 419; Trippel, 565; Heintzelman, 48; *Handbook of American Indians*, 1, 319-320; Bartlett, II, 180, 229; Russell, (d), 157; Letherman, 289; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 82, 151; Lowie, (a), 180-181.

of Powell's illustrations wearing trousers, or perhaps only long fringed 171
leggings. One curious feature about the Havasupai and Zuñi garments 177
is that they are made from two straight pieces which fail to meet at the 291
belt in front, leaving a space to be covered by the breechclout. This suggests an origin of the pattern in two long leggings attached to the belt, but the case is inconclusive.[1]

The Plains man's shirt is found throughout this area, though it is 171
probably not so commonly worn as on the Plains. It is essentially a 291
poncho of skin, as Wissler has demonstrated, yet always with a well-defined pattern. It is precisely the Plains form which we encounter everywhere. It is recorded for the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Western Apache, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, other Rio Grande Pueblos, Zuñi, Hopi,[2] Pima, Mohave,[3] Yavapai,[4] Havasupai, Paiute,[5] Uintah Ute, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Klamath.

Wissler has made a case for the origin of the Plains shirt pattern in the cloth poncho.[6] The older Havasupai type and that of the Yavapai lend corroboration; both are folded skins slit to pass over the head. The woven poncho is at least characteristic of the Pueblos in our area, as well as in use throughout Mexico and the cordilleran region to the south. The Navaho also have the typical form; a blanket so woven that a slit remains in the fabric. The Southern Diegueño prepare a rabbitskin blanket similarly. Yet, both the Hopi and Navaho[7] make a cloth poncho which, by the addition of short lengths of cloth to cover the arms, approximates the Plains type of shirt. It is more likely that this is in imitation of the Plains garment, which was patterned on the original simple cloth poncho, than the reverse.

The triangular flaps attached front and back to the Plains shirt at the neck hole have been tentatively explained by Wissler as possibly originating in a knife sheath hung in front of the throat.[8] It is difficult to account for two appendages in this manner. I think rather we have here confirmation of his general theory, for the Mexican ponchos in the collection of the American Museum are decorated with large lozenges woven at their centers, so arranged that when the cloth is folded, a triangular area extends downward from the neck hole in front and in back.

---

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 450; Powell, Fig. 45; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 309.
[2] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 31; Hough, (c), 242-245.
[3] "A kind of tunic made of a buckskin fringe hanging over the shoulders" (Whipple, 114).
[4] A deerskin folded crosswise, slit for the head, and tied at the sides (Corbusier, 282).
[5] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 180, ill.
[6] Wissler, (d).
[7] James, (d), Fig. 140; Franciscan Fathers, 247, 457, 458.
[8] Wissler, (c), 103.

439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their
demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture ex-
439 change. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations
648 and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's
554 credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way,
and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties
202 to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently
customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the pur-
648 pose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

> 484 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to
> fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and
> 722 they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and
> there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.
>
> This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village
> 224 to go up by Tovōk$_y$óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little
> 484 cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said
> among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill
> 648 some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting
> on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard
> someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen
> down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told
> us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One
> of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran
> off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very
> narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, follow-
> ing him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess'
> grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them:
> he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other
> stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The
> ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there,
> until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same
> 484 place. So we all came down the Tovōk$_y$óvá trail and went around into the canyon
> 648 where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as 527
gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some 535
philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-
feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two
weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with
a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some dis-
cussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty [533]
younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others
joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out ad-
monitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated [648]
"*hánig*^{ia}, good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce [526]
the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, bellowed a summons
to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground
at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day.
Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, [526]
were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a
layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; later
food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held [648]
themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaja,
Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd [537]
from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in 527
starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout 535
at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers
stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer [533]
gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled
about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in
joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside
the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the
right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order.
Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung [301]
on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and
feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground.
At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, per- [177]
formed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about
9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including
a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people [624]
did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. [537]
Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards.
He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood
branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch [302]
in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally
crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he
made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not
considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance
527 during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form,
535 except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in
each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and
down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from
[301] the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance.
The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were
"just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the Cali-
177 fornia ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the
535 latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1]
769 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the
Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2]
After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above,
for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the
central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when
he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the
shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The
occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only
one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men
who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a
177 Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George,
769 Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him
775 to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with
the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai
accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Mana-
kadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in
place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly,
the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle,
seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

MASKED DANCE

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidjī'nd*, both dance and partici-
pant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the
dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

---

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid*, 811, 813.
[3] James, (b), 255.

and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 535 The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man steps to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

532
535

The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

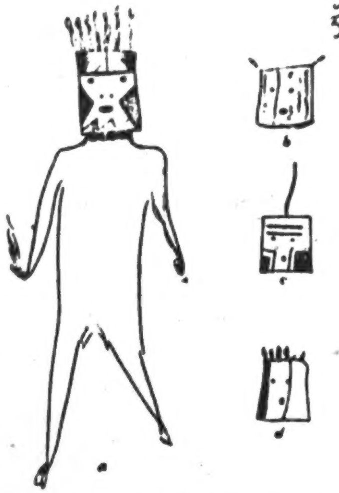


Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

MOHAVE DANCE

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a 177 Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Havasupai. 535 The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the

177 535 [533] songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influensa during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havásupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was *Kúϑhádú*, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

---

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 92.

fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, 177
it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances
and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of 177
all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked 535
figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according 648
to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate.
Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because
"they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans [756]
have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai
participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. 171
The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. 276
This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai 171
apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. 796
Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. 535
The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical
Southwestern tribes.

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. 171
As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the 535
Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance
into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance [177]
as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Gosute,[8]

---

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 60; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1860 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 306.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1920).
[8] Reagan, 40.

775 was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes [774] there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógá (man+to draw after) who
● 177 draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when
775 he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvá (man+make alive again), who makes
776 people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvá with Dudjípa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed
774 so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or
822 both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow
[192] are used; *wítagosá*", that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yá'dsaíyá*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost
776 without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit
787 (*sámá*^{e})[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

---

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gisámá* (doctor, medicine).

however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes 768
to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on 428
which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut [763]
down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer 765
before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During [587]
this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p.
267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen
met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is [177]
said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like
the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave
dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony,
but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to 769
talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go
near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always
took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the [761]
former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances
of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general 171
area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribu- 764
tion. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

---

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 100, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (e), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 202; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (e), 94, 99; Sparkman, 220; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (o), 295.

[4] Lowie, (l), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45. Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 40; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As atten- [177] dance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

---

[171] [1] The Pima have the same caution [Russell, (d), 119]. Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run [Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 9]. Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a thong loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 50). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck [Dixon, (b), 432].

[3] Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

541 giêa giyi giyi goldoŋ àvoŋhai isunéa honeyâ (repeat)
789 gáŝigânágóagó nóŋágùbá isunéa hineyâ
553 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiâŋà , hasiâŋà hasiâŋàŋàŋà yôllgai

[177] [648] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grandfather, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents. [525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow [534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required [525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'òwìgd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

---

[1] They do not balance poles.

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incorporate
his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower section,
a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed imminent
as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

872 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own 177 volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and [157] gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [515] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [342] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind. 812 177 584

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage. 812 177

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids. [264]

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

872 stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the
177 fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with
872 hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes
177 and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children.
262 Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, '*Hanatoopega!* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing
[522] their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

262 When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor. 241

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months. [412]

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood. 291 177 191

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71. 812

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it. 756 787

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him. 756

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red 177

177 liquid, and asked anxiously, "Heap good? You think heap good?"

My first impulse was to tell him honestly, "No, I do not think heap good, but it is the only medicine on these shelves that I know how to give, except quinine and castor oil." But honesty would have destroyed the spark of hope his face still held, so I replied, "It will ease Jasper's cough, and I hope will help him to get well."

After he had gone, I looked upon the rows of bottles and tins with positive loathing; drugs enough to stock a drugstore, but useless to us. Most of the containers had never been opened. Who had requisitioned them? Why had such a requisition been honored when the school had never had a doctor nor a nurse nor anyone who was legally qualified to dispense drugs? A visiting official had exclaimed, "You have enough drugs to last the city of Chicago for ten years. What can you do with them?" The Indians asked for medicine only on rare occasions; their suspicion of the white man's drugs was greater than their doubt of their own medicine men's skill. Giving this no thought, I had sent medicine to Jasper. If they gave him a dose or two, and the boy died, it would be a matter of cause and effect, and the blame would be mine.

Two days later, Manakadja was back; hope had given way to despair. "You give 'em new uniform, bury my boy," he requested.

Surprised and shocked, I asked, "Is Jasper dead?"

"Pretty quick die," he said, his face tight and gray with suffering.

"Did you give him the medicine?" I asked, anxious to learn what had been done with the cough sirup.

He shook his head. "I taste. No good."

I was so relieved to learn that Jasper's relapse could not be laid to the cough sirup that I gave Manakadja a new school uniform without waiting to learn whether or not I had authority to issue government clothing for the dead.

763 It was the custom to gather about the sick and mourn, telling

796 tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other
527 dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal
535 stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and
302 stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

796 In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village
527 crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women
535 rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it
786 with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from
exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

● 177 This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of
796 the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of
775 many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the
791 doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead
in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

177 Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described
796 as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white
791 people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little
821 knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, 177
an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an 796
attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The 791
darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild 821
demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said 177
to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. 796
Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, 791
happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was 775
taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for 787
five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other 177
tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was 796
made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their 786
determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some 787
tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a 177
worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers 796
at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach 787
of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 796 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 527 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing. 796 527 574 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former, on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja. Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 527 541 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

648 776 And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

776 The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *toholwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

177 285 415 252 They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the water-tight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be 177 285
picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded 415
as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, 252
shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making
it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, [321]
then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps
—heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle—
required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's
store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and
another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the 241
acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three 433
hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels
of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of 434
vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four
thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost [622]
wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been
in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given
them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash 437
sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets,
while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade.
A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after 436
endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine
Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had
the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket
could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to 583
marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the
value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars
in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to 481

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a
281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow
[237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were
[177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their
648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized
[789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant)
237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-so-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

● [177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tŏd-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could 622
have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than 156
Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was
within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

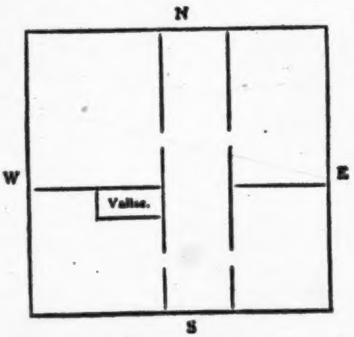
As might be expected with their powerful physical 526
development, the men are great wrestlers, and often [142]
may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less
hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods
of cross-buttocking and other " throws " are tested to the
utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert [177]
wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with
whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and
one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais
was his ability to " down " them in a wrestling
match. Time and again he had given their best men
great " falls," and the more he threw, the more they
respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, 147
Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their 526
endurance is not so great as that of these two desert
tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass
either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long
and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and
they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails
of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college
athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a
short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a
brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail
was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but
they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which 291
the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated 281

wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the 609
dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents 648
if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal 609
dread of the camera. 177

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated 152
his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition,
however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft
194 and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

English of a number of words, and all during the day I 192
heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom 153
would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of 291
a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather,
but as school influences began to permeate the village, [177]
blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made
garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though [177]
occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are 262
tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hosh-
kon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted [252]
in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied
caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of
[361] the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable
than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined
[221] to make the plateau the favored winter abode.

Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes
137 within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate
along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine.
Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a
variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal,
and some of the other food plants of the plateau, are also found on the Esplanade
and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from
canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations.
Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties
of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were
harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the
predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a
winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and
many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches.
Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine
terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed)
is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented
with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
133 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
361 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land.
312 Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area
below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The
canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance
of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by
487 means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the
canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes
used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba
and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into
Supai.

Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
245 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates
177 their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John
D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times.
Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

lums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter 245
hree kinds. 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, 241
quash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), 177
otton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig,
pple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw
nd alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions,
chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees
Whiting n. d., 60).

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game 136
nimal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions 262
vere killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game
ncluded cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds.
McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions
obcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now re- [224]
stricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an
occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from
a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat
fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River.

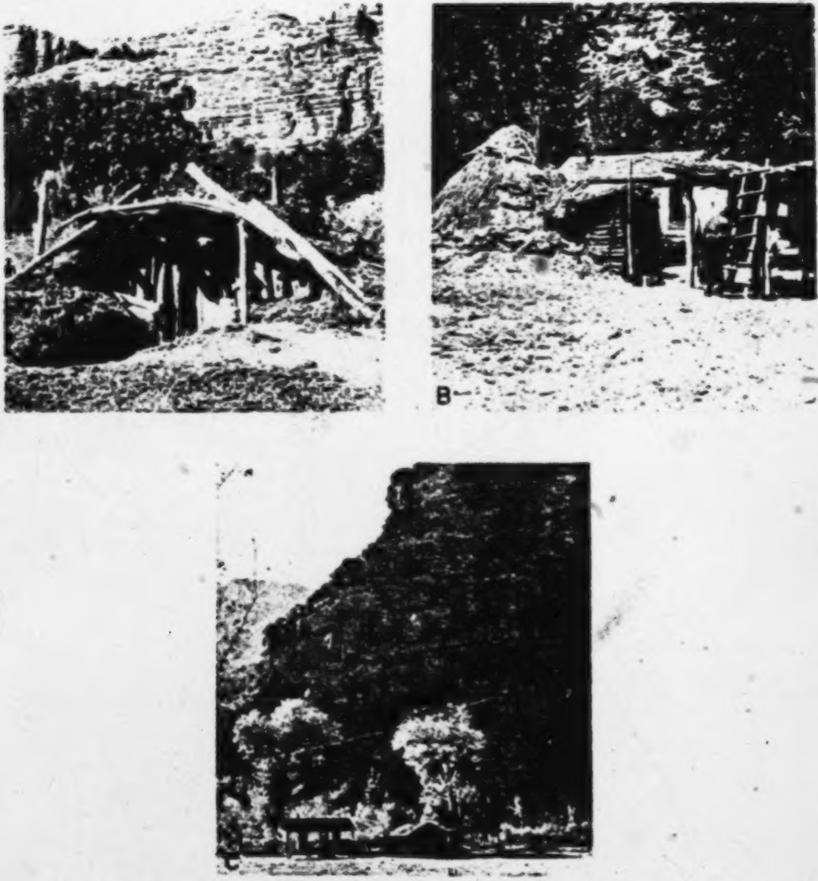
The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of 657
an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and 131
the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6
acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four
sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were
added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs [423]
used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the [231]
Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation
proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National
Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952).

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 657
100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21).

342
133



[177]

Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A, Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B, Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C, Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
● 177 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the
787 white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o
of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction ove
[844] the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop
rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasio
for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a
[755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly
to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as
well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai
[787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately
following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai 131
woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract 133
Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there.

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by 574
no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai 648
women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai.

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had 871
some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents.

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through 177
radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, 648
more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation.

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and 178
hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land
than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized 182
as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her.

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [314] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was crisscrossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the
●[177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846 pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. 854 The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, 854 is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other 857 individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, 152 seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children.

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or 854 did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored [482] to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone.

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the [856] time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or 854 moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is 856 said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand [826] remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small 524 spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 177

524
177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854
868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757
[753]
[262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treate

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally
514 to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the
baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be
trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet
area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates
that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and
one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would
remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself
after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more
often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught
to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the
training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals
[834] by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old.
Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without
subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby
is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems
reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the
nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue
until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he
grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally
and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be
weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained,
[177] an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow
long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles
from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the
553 Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous
connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by
his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names
could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

604 [848] The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative.

605 [582] Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins.

861 867 Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing."

241 462 [177] [857] While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary.

178 182 861 The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance.

861 Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. 857
She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends 524
are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother.

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

[177]
Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or [237] corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture [386] of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls o[illegible]day. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four 857
or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, tradition- 868
ally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. [562] A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, [492] but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual
881. taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt un-
841 concern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting
of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed
●[177] by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, al-
though not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted pen-
alties; and (3) white education and influences.

In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural
881 patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior ap-
183 proximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns.
Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and
other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly
dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Hava-
[114] supai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your
remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very
just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism
and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's
182 impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony
is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn. [177]

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand. [386] [301]

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [783] [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 515 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos throughout her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.

302 It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[641] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that men- 841
strual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating 881
woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would
not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was con- [777]
veniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, [224]
but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating
woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently [343]
not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweat-
lodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her 881
first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female
or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing [184]
and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in
question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself.
The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty
ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of
the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her [603]
parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult,
could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other in-
terviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and
this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling
me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, 881
if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos 177
against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that
order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still
have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting
is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering
of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities
and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of
powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the
prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at
all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sun-
set. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work
at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

291
In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, orna- 302
mentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some at- 832
tention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

291 ship period.

302
832
[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291
[301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237]
[285]
[415] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

●[177]
[301]
[302] Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

[768]
[177] Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, 291
and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses [177]
purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing
machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of
clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby
socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also
wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home.

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses
from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able
to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said
that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with
other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The 291
dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of 287
them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair
of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the
tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the
margin of which lay the Havasupai."

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow 302
level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders.
Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but
occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on
either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together
strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the
remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided 302
them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a 177
primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding
the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the
hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in
the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them.

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice 302
are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they 515
are discovered on a child.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed
with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots,
302 or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their
[531] faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended
lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may
also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has
largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common,
while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general
use.

Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo
304 their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials,
probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs
and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of
832 a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or
[578] a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are
careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, be-
[516] cause this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs
to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture,
[177] a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although
there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of
846 other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns
292 to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from
juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said
302 to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her
856 face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose
and upwardon the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This
routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines,
[177] which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added:
"I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and
she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any
of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's
presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather
than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or
extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic
isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities
to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors,
other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were
in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that,
ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[827] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
[864] girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
● [177] broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today
come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close
571 neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract
Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play
groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have
been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later
571 at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
[841] groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
585 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those
586 times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for
the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in
584 advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and
was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
582 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
584 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of
178 parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or
177 allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young
couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic
situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in 177 popular songs, movies, and magazines. 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, 582 but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such 584 marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security.

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. 585 "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate 583 a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give."

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet." 585

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. [177] In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, [177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. 844
It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens 177
to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with 593
household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers 461
about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she 855
can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works
she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. [854]
She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

603
Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or inter- 593
feres with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, 578
resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 604

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported 764 by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held [177] for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead [768] person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes [114] that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were con- [423] sidered personal property.

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established [114] among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that [171] "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the [765] Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Wal- [769] apai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives [551] of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the [787] land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a [755] shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de-

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai
obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types
and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me
not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it
might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was
made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However,
an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a
couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women
braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand
in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow
match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light.
Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every
baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman
may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
461 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
● 177 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based
562 mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562
464 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
177 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white familes in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [872]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.

562 In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing,
[768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today,
it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male relatives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who
177 failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title
562 might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

423 nance of herself and her children.

428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of 423 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating 428 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands, 562 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the 578 newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai 423
women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and 428
social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any 562
increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward in- 578
creased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for
women. 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent 285
among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half 463
a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit.

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and [439]
Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket
weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make [177]
certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form.

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong; and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

252
142
[231]
● 177
415
412
516

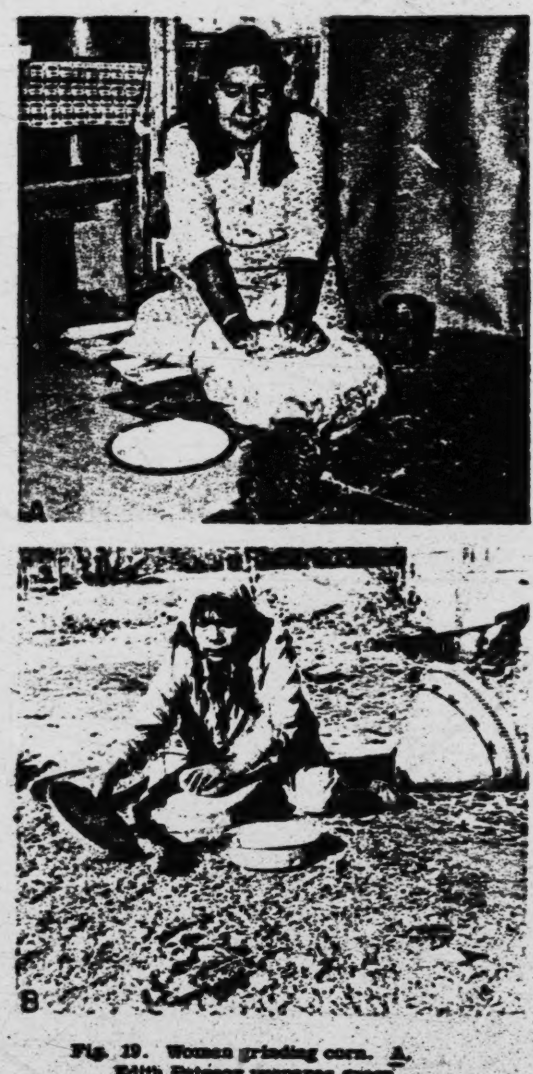


Fig. 19. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Putesoy prepares green corn for johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, *aqlisa* (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath ner, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djʉ'). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 262 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

[251] Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

[177] In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

252 262 177 Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi contact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ʹ -vá ʽ i -łádt. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 262 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as
562 mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired;
[152] such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with
men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In
[177] the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line,
[535] and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the
night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with
the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to
203 state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served
as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the
[562] same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it
afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in
an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation
until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered
in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service per-
[657] sonnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it alto-
gether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [571]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

525
177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535]
[562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721
648
[562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721
562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their 181
position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under phys- 562
ical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other
conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with 867
equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting
in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be [578]
certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai
woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which [177]
formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysteri- 152
cal nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. 181
These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai
men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, some- 562
times at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, 181
the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or inde-
pendence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal 562
clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and
largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life.
(Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953;
Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by
Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, 421
home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women
thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In 562
addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons,
brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men
aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and [221]
crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shel-
ter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped
seasonally at family gardening plots.

586 562 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the [177] acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property [423] comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The ex- [582] treme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done [177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

175
648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

434 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following [177 233] 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [525 591] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [571] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [782] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

432 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422 251] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

flat are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then 252
built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the
stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about
ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal
piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in
sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some
plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are
packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or
gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight
hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally
some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several
dishes are prepared.

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is 222
gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled
in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of
cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, [251]
the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun.

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance 222
on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a 252
bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired
until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown
into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed
and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a
layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded
and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked.

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly 515
in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow 524
leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus
washed, the hair is soft and glossy.

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup 342
or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee;
others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top
and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered
with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any
way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from [354]
the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure
appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions
are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored [352]
in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning
stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping [354]
through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where
everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the
Havasupai have few modern household goods.

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the 513
ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like
a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own [177]
modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed
with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free
from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed.

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number 177
of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up 342
their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other 648
supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses
close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at
least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses
are too hot in summer and too cold in winter.

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do 343
with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities 423
in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had
its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians'
food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[132] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under
trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally
the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[286] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets
and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[222] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables
252 and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano)* held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
302 women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief
tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture,
a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children
go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin
consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft 291
dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold.

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the 301
Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, 262
meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the 224
winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the
men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in [462]
a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source
of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow [177] ●
and arrow of former times.

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the 462
heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses.

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. 285
Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each 315
household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or [182]
two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai [462]
woman is generally engaged in her craft.

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally [324]
gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used.

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

285
The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs 415
made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black 531
from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The [462]

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assistance 593
of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests
of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, [177
the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act,
especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to
work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets,
cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy,
to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal
matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice
of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others,
in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger
character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship.
A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son [156]
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a
chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. 601
A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor
wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship
term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference.
A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your
mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The
word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his
wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, 177
but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing 586
marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born
child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the
nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is
bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [482]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal
peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name
the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some
Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach
[585] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their
marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers
551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious
significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near
her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves.
A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on
the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is
bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her
face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly
must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must
run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed
[222] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared,
yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father
[177] or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy.
868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and
careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship
on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a
deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around
the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables,
to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers
882 and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters
very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest
the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their
favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a
neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance,
race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations
to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets,
prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday
[525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least
during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During
517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving
very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek;
others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat
of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth,
awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their
husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they
take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the
afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed.
The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at
the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the
heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish
[533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and
just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing
heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for 175 cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. [648] This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being 172 produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, 175 but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white [439] man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. 175 It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, 648 followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the 175 canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning 177 of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, 648 and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
[175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this
reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during
the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the
increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies,
and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand
Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the
main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[464] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned
directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now
[432] they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the
standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars
played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed
considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow
the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was
the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other
government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
343 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction
of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were
rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they
were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for
living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan
of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques.
This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually replaced
648 by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the
Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture
through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with
whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These
processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal
people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the 291
combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to 174
them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other
tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the 291
combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short 171
front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares
of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another
combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as
among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of
cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, 281
in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of 462
Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture
of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom 171
among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and
working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which
suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment
workers has been transferred to another material among their
Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It 000
is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi
drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of 171
fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a 423
feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west
coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious.
Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce
of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. [768]
Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily
cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, [177]
ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly
brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It
is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward
land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as
personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

177 531 824 If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. 177 765 533 More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

000 A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[7] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

---

[7] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

101 161 114 177 THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

311 423 The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

114 596 [613] The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in [591] the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

---

[1] Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

[2] *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

[3] American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing. 177 562 [221] [182 591]

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later. 182 428 591

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations. 114 428

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he 422 423 [768]

---

[4] About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The House-Clan*

423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768] he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
177 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
648 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
428 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
621 agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and

---

428 *Complex of the Pueblos* (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

[5] This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and coöperation.

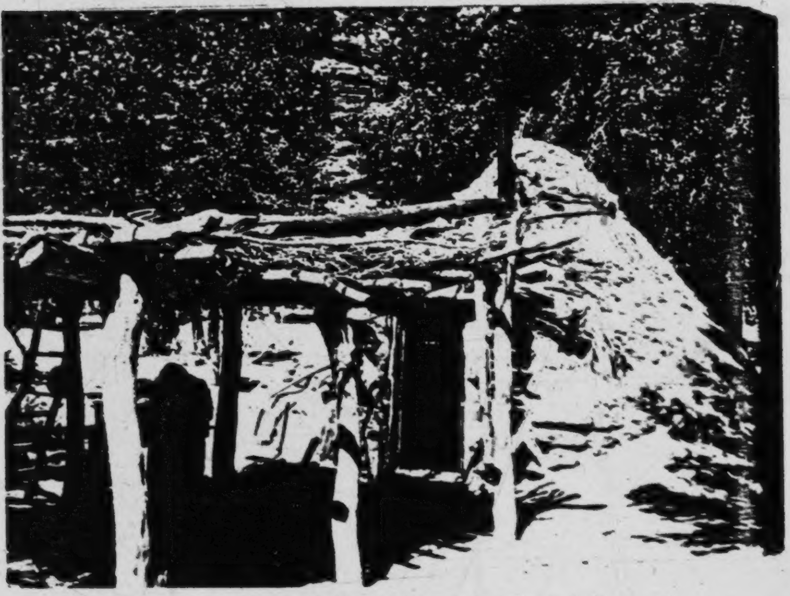
from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to 487
the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come.

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails 133
is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher
and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is
scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny
creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and
sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze
stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly
remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand
years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry
heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly
the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new
presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it,
for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the
welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the
canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes
Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small
springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace,
Cataract Creek is full grown.

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly 133
to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread 361
out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the
home of the Havasupai Indians.

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration 361
of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent (177)
and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the
mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to
cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal 177
dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were 342
first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic
flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed
by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed
through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village
and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still
be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for 342

342
252



An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great
many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examina-
tion shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are
beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and pota-
[172] toes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course,
[245] and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts
of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots,
figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even
pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable 312
amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields.
Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand,
banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet
deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are 241
dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may 312
then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of
earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess
from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the
water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches
would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been
constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans
to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent
footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been
irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn 241
planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, [412]
harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, [177]
along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the [655]
Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately,
most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have
little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men [462]
do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair.
The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of [782]
this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that 197
spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified
as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are
particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other
than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these [161]
two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each
other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of 142
the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined
to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily
and WINNINGLY.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

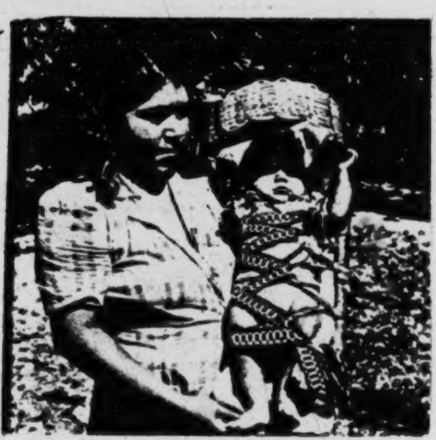
221 [161] In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today, early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] [439] [527] [648] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 361 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 221 241 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The village is now the center of activity throughout the year. [361]

854
291



Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

177
658
872
361
The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

177
443
655
The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

[P. 41 A]

such items as *Lucky Strikes*, *Carnation Milk* and *Tide* washing soap are 177
preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to 443
the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati. 655

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one 177
of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais 485
are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty 655
of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year.

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of 177
white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most 648
of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings.

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged 443
to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at 177
reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their [285]
basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy.

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines 177
and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the 648
Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not.

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for
the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers
to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for
this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one
is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many
household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store
in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter
now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families
have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact
that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in
the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early after-
noon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of
the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their
gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad
in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and
plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means,
but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with
them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[517] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a
small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is
made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of
the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together
where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them,
leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with
blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

262 tion variously,—by roasting, broiling,
frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No
part of the animal is wasted; blood,
intestines, even visceral glands and organs,
as well as the half-digested vegetable
matter from the stomachs of the deer,
antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as
food. The liver is frequently eaten raw,
immediately on the death of the animal.

Their implements for preparing food
412 are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone,
and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or
volcanic rock, and various in size, flat
transversely, and concave from end to
end, placed upon a skin, are used for
grinding; while large, round, closely-woven
trays of basket work, coated with
mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent
roasting pans. Earthen pots and
[439] brass kettles, procured by barter with
415 the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels.
Moqui bowls and native baskets are
used in serving food, which is dipped
[264] from the cooking pot with large ladles
of horn or wood, and eaten either with
the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden
415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung
over the forehead or shoulders with a
482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting
food, or carrying it to and from
the distant granaries; and certain huge,
small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles
serve as canteens and water-jars.
412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good
[177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances,
the original flint instruments, as
have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron
or steel, inserted into wooden handles,
like primitive stone axes, supplanted the
scarcely ruder prehistoric implement.
Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints
and bits of stray wire make awls and
needles; and sharp bone, or chipped
discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various
stone hammers and mauls, with flat
stones used about the fire, complete the
limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-paí
household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in
the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

412 [241] spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kö-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

442 [177] Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-pai has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 [526] [177] Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-pai — least acquainted with civilization perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611
614 A most curious fact, and a very significant one in the consideration of the

[P. 550B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâ-kâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves,
674 few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are exces-
[855 sively fond of their children, and the
861] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange
721 frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come
648 when I see this is wrong, and my peo-
● 177 ple will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

[P. 557 A]

648 ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] 177 I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how [412] my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

782 The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

[539] "Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants,
to accept of my sacrifices."

823 The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

773
539 Ko-hot told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

[P. 557B]

The /99 cont. /
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way
as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food
among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
241 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177
224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and
rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was,
of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the
foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle,
like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides
and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose,
baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder,
sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin
fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides,
reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped
moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and
cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal
garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees,
consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and
with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented
with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their
boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter
with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
(251) water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the
water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried
on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
521 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining
which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best
fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat,
familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who
knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

/101 cont./
622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness,
yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
611 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 [614] children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[170] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile
name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their
girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity,
as, for instance, Tasáwĭchĕ, "Sunlight through the
Leaves," Matĕkalíwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chĕkŭchĕkŭ,
"Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 [182] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[614] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively
remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the
Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the
intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the
rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends
assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are
troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly
horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the
768 deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was
burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken
away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes
to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the
medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract
therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated.
He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion 771

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).] 771 177

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high. 772 [823]

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ăʔbăʔdjih. [756]

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people] 823 [174 177]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi. 101 186 177

● 179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley [access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek [a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park [where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupaibelieved that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

756
755
533
[753]

Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

756
533
[752]

Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes, scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled, were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756
787
[177]

Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean
clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving
[178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more
[535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were
held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave
[177] mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study,
but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when
the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son
was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones
was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Hava-
[766] supai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated
in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was
pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east
in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial
[178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in
a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died, that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis
visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals
may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764

[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned. 765

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent [128]
Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. [177]
The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai [533]
through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning [535]
rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.] [771]
[764]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: 535
the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.] 177

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gätágäma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire. 533 535 177

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony: 796

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance. . . and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 This indication[a] was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a cen-
533 ter pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
●177 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost
dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

> 539 "A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to
> St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that
> 796 makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night
> 177 took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs.
> 533 Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contra-distinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'
>
> "Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.
>
> "From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.
>
> "Supai Jack and Bert Weecogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

[a] [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a 539
round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the 177
songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked 796
him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later
they thought these might be good songs so now that's all
they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gätágäma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

> "Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gätágäma also was singing his own songs."

796
Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no 533
longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute 177
songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and 535
scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 727

535 727 [533] head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it." The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 727 539 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.

> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies [who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man [for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 ● [177] Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, 535
however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men
danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated
women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a
signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the
dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) [114]
for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The
dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as
Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the
leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants
returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were
out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers
moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders
started to the rear.

535
The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the
language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants 789
pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance [533]
people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought [177]
us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need
it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like
your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the
leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point 201
to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indi- 535
cate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a 789
circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing
a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with
food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the 535
identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came [532]
from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators in- 535
dicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an in- 526
corporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the
audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent
the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made
of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long.
Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute
bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled
white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counter- [177]
part of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their
performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated
four times.

that's why she had the bone. She split one piece of the bone lengthwise and 539*
put it in the ground. She left it a few minutes and pulled it out and water
came forth. She traveled on to the southwest until she was thirsty again.
Again she split a bone, put it in the ground, and brought water out. A spring [223]
is still there on the Walapai Reservation. [Perhaps Rose Well.] She kept
doing this until she had made four springs, all the while traveling southwest.
Then she reached some people camping at a village in the afternoon. An
old lady was on the edge of the village. Some of the men were out hunting.
When they returned, one shouted that there was a runaway girl and that she
was going to be his. Another man said no, we'll look into it and see whose
she will be. The men ate supper, and about dark they built a fire a little
way from the house where the girl was staying with an old woman. The men [525]
started playing the sixteen-stick game. [A gambling game, not reported by [177]
Spier (1928), wherein the sticks were used as counters. Probably bor-
rowed from the Southern Paiute.] Every once in a while a man would slip
away from the game and go to the girl's house but she would beat them
away and throw dirt on them. Even all the birds and animals tried except
the quail. Others told him to try but he said, "I'm not a good-looking man
like some others she has turned down. So why should I try." But he finally
tried. He put makeup on the feathers on his head and went in. She grabbed
him and took him for her husband.

The men went hunting, all except the quail. He was lazy. Other men were jealous of him because he ate gravel and didn't hunt for meat. The men said they wouldn't give him any more meat.

Finally, the girl was expecting a baby. It was in the girl's thumb. When delivery time came, the girl went out and thrust her thumb in a forward motion and the baby stood up on the ground before her. After the baby boy was old enough, his mother wished for meat. She told him to go to Grandfather Squirrel who was a good hunter. The boy didn't say anything. After they went to bed, he got up, put a stick under his cover for a dummy, and went to his grandfather, the squirrel. The boy was approaching his grandfather's house when he came to some women picking pinyons. They gave some to him, and yucca juice to drink. When they set his food before him, he said, "This isn't good to eat, just good to soften leather of shoes." So he put it on his shoes. The juice was good for shampoo, so he washed his hair. Then he got his fine cornmeal lunch out and told them to eat. They said, "This isn't good to eat, just good for makeup." So they painted their faces with it. No one ate anything. Then they went to bed. The ladies were lying in a row. After they were asleep he got up and tied their hair together. In the morning he awoke and waited for the women to wake up. They slept on so he called out, "I never saw anyone sleep like that. I thought you wanted to work." One started to get up and all jerked each other, and laughed.

*539 So Coyote built a rock house and said, "Snake, I'm through, I think this is the kind you want." Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind. I want one where the shade moves from one side to the other."

Coyote thought hard but didn't know what kind Snake wanted, but said he would try again. Coyote went to a cottonwood tree, dug it up by the roots and took it over and planted it. The sun moved across the sky and the shade shifted from side to side. Snake said, "This is the kind I want." Snake began to move to that tree and the people assembled. Snake said he was ready to start the song, but his body was still moving far away. Somewhere someone saw it was still moving. Coyote started to cut the snake in the middle so someone could pass through. Snake knew they were cutting him in half. So Snake made up his mind that he wouldn't sing the good songs he knew but would [533] pick out the top parts of songs. So he made a salt song to begin with. [These salt songs were Mohave. They could be sung at any time although today few ● [177] Havasupais know them. Some are funeral songs sung by, ' but unintelligible to, the Havasupai.] The people all sang together with him.

Then the chief of the people got sick and died. Before he died he said he wanted the people to burn [cremate] him.

While the people were singing, everyone liked the songs, and women came, too. The kids at home were crying because their mothers had gone to hear Snake. Some people were quarreling. Snake said, "This is a round dance song. It looks like people are going to have trouble and be mad." The chief told them not to bury him, but burn him. The chief said, "I am afraid of Coyote. He is a person eater. If you bury or throw me away he will dig me up and eat me. South of here is a mountain with a fire in it. Ask Coyote to go there and fetch a burning coal to start my funeral fire. But you keep the fire here and burn me while he is gone so he won't know. I'll burn until I am ashes and I'll turn into a plant. Where my body is burned, pour water on the ashes and keep it wet. Then the plant will grow and will be called corn."

When the chief died, the people sent Coyote off for coal. People started the funeral fire when Coyote was a little way off. People stood around and poked the fire to make it burn faster so it would be gone before Coyote returned.

Coyote ran about halfway, then looked back and saw smoke. He guessed what it was so he ran back. All was burned except the heart, lungs, and liver. People were poking it around as the chief had told them. It smelled good to Coyote, who ran up to the circle. Two short men were in the circle so Coyote planned to get over them. He said nothing, but jumped over them, the badger and porcupine, and grabbed the heart. He went off still running and ate the heart.